

# EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## A SHORT HISTORY OF HAITI

HON. BILL RICHARDSON

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1995

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to my colleagues' attention the following article by one of America's preeminent authorities on Haiti. Robert Pastor has been deeply involved in issues affecting Haiti in his capacity as director of the Latin American and Caribbean Program at the Carter Center. It would serve my colleagues well to take Mr. Pastor's views under consideration.

[From the Foreign Service Journal, Nov. 1995]

### A SHORT HISTORY OF HAITI

(By Robert A. Pastor)

In 1791, stirred by the spirit of the French Revolution, Haitian slaves began a punishing, 13-year war for independence against Europe's most powerful army. The proclamation of the world's first independent black republic on Jan. 1, 1804, posed a dual challenge for Haiti and the world. The challenge for Haitians was to fulfill the ideals that moved them to insurrection—liberty, equality and fraternity. The challenge to the world was to accept a black republic as a sovereign and equal state. Neither passed the test then. Today, presidents Jean-Bertrand Aristide and Bill Clinton are doing better in meeting the dual challenge than at any point in Haiti's 200-year history.

Haitians rid themselves of colonialism in 1804 but not of oppression. Its new leaders exploited the people while transforming the richest colony in the Caribbean into the poorest country. A peaceful, democratic process never took hold. Instead, a succession of civil wars and brutal dictators devastated the country. Only the pride of Haiti's birth helped Haitians to withstand 200 years of abject poverty, international isolation and brutal dictatorship.

In the 19th century, Europe feared that slave revolts could spread through their colonies, and so they tried to contain and isolate the new republic. The U.S. response was similar, but more tragic because Haitians also had been inspired by the U.S. revolution, and the United States owed them a debt for preventing Napoleon from using the island as a base to capture North America. The United States only contemplated relations with the republic after emancipating its own slaves.

Haitians were saddened by the imposed isolation, but they adjusted, becoming a kind of political Galapagos island with unique political and spiritual forms. Its politics became virtually impervious to outside influence until U.S. marines landed in 1915. But when the marines departed 19 years later, a new generation of dictators returned, culminating with the 30-year Duvalier dynasty.

On Feb. 7, 1986, Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier fled to France, and the most recent and promising phase in Haiti's liberation struggle began. The issue, once again, was whether a new government would meet the people's democratic and material needs or whether the corrupt alliance between Haiti's armed forces and its wealthiest elite would

maintain its grip on the country. The challenge for the international community was whether it would take the steps necessary to bring Haiti into the fold of democratic nations, or whether it would simply wash its hands of Haiti.

After trying unsuccessfully to manipulate the electoral process, the military grudgingly allowed a free election in 1990. This did not happen by accident. Since the lessons of 1990 were lost by the June 1995 elections, it might be useful to review them.

In 1990, the provisional president Ertha Pascal-Trouillot invited the international community to Haiti to observe and, indirectly, help construct an electoral process. The U.N. and the OAS advised the Provisional Elections Council (CEP) and did a quick count—a random sample of results—that permitted a reliable prediction of the final results of the presidential election. In addition, she invited former president Jimmy Carter, chairman of the Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government, an informal group of 25 current and former presidents of the Americas. The council, working with the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs mediated for five months among the political parties, the CEP and the government.

One "mediates" an electoral process by listening to the opposition parties, distilling their complaints, and helping the government and the CEP fashion fair responses. This process increased confidence in the electoral process so that all the candidates and parties felt a sense of ownership in the elections and would therefore accept the results even if they lost. In addition, the council, through two incumbent members—Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez and Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley—persuaded the United Nations to send security observers to monitor the elections and prevent violence that had aborted the election in November 1987.

The Bush administration supported these efforts, but, correctly, kept some distance from the mediation. The proud, nationalistic Haitians preferred to negotiate the rules of the election with international and non-governmental organizations rather than with the U.S. government.

On December 16, 1990, Haitians voted for 11 presidential candidates, but Jean-Bertrand Aristide, a young priest, won two-thirds of the vote. Because of the effective mediation during the campaign, all the political parties accepted the results. Jean Casimir, who was the executive secretary of the CEP in 1990 and is currently Haiti's ambassador to the United States, acknowledged: "Without electoral observation, it would have been totally impossible for Haiti to rid itself of its dictators and their armed forces."

Aristide was hardly a typical politician, anymore than Haiti's politics were classically democratic. Aristide was connected to the people by a spiritual bond, and this was evident during his inauguration on Feb. 7, 1991 as the people chanted passionately: "Thank you God, for sending Titi [Aristide]."

The election turned the Haitian power pyramid upside down. The vast majority of Haitians are poor, and for the first time, they had their champion in the presidential palace. The elite found themselves on the outside, fearful that the masses might treat them as they had treated the people.

It was a delicate transition, and it did not last. Barely seven months after his inauguration, the military overthrew Aristide with the consent of the oligarchy and perhaps at its invitation. When he later reflected on what had gone wrong, Aristide acknowledged that perhaps he had won the election by too much. He had little incentive to compromise, and he showed too little respect for the independence of the Parliament. One of his mistakes was replacing the commander-in-chief of the Army, Gen. Herard Abraham, with Gen. Raoul Cedras. Abraham, a skillful political actor, had secured the election and stopped a military coup led by Duvalierist Roger LaFontant in January 1991.

In exile, Aristide tried to marshal international support for his return. The international community was eager to help. During the previous 15 years, a democratic wave had swept through the hemisphere. When the OAS General Assembly met in Santiago in June 1991, every active member had had free and competitive elections. (Cuba was not an active member. Mexico and the Dominican Republic had competitive elections, but their integrity was questioned.) The foreign ministers understood the fragility of democracy in the Americas, and they passed the Santiago Commitment on Democracy and Resolution 1080, pledging that if a coup occurred in the Americas, they would meet in emergency session to decide on action to discuss ways to restore democracy.

Three months later, in September 1991, Haiti provided the first test case. Within days of the coup, the OAS Foreign Ministers met in Washington, quickly condemned the coup, and sent a delegation to Haiti to demand the return of Aristide. The military humiliated the group, and the OAS responded by imposing an economic embargo on the regime. President Bush supported President Aristide's return, but some in his administration did not, and that might have influenced his decision to limit the means he would use to accomplish that goal. He ordered the U.S. Coast Guard to return refugees to Haiti, and this reduced the pressure on him to restore Aristide to power.

During the campaign, Bill Clinton criticized Bush for his refugee policy, but after his election, Clinton adopted the same policy and gained Aristide's support by promising to restore him to power. Making good on that promise proved far more difficult than the new president thought. The Haitian military and the elite did not want Aristide to return, and no diplomatic effort would succeed unless backed by a credible threat of force. The credibility of U.S. and U.N. diplomatic efforts was undermined significantly when the Harlan County, a Navy ship carrying 200 U.S. soldiers on a humanitarian mission, was prevented from docking in Port-au-Prince by thugs organized by the armed forces.

While the president remained committed to restoring Aristide, the difficulty of accomplishing that goal tempted the administration to put the issue aside. However, intense pressure by Randall Robinson, the director of TransAfrica, and the Congressional Black Caucus compelled the administration to take a giant step forward. In July 1994, the United States persuaded the U.N. Security Council to pass a resolution calling on member states to use force to compel the Haitian military to accept Aristide's return.

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.

This was a watershed event in international relations—the first time that the U.N. Security Council had authorized the use of force for the purpose of restoring democracy to a member state. The following August, President Clinton decided that the U.S. would take the lead in an invasion.

The next month, on Sept. 15, President Clinton publicly warned the Haitian military leaders to leave power immediately. He said all diplomatic options were exhausted, but in fact, the U.S. government had stopped talking to the Haitian military six months before. Nonetheless, Gen. Raoul Cedras, the commander of the Haitian military, had opened a dialogue during the previous week with former president Jimmy Carter, whom he had met during the 1990 elections. The president, who had been told by Carter of the talks, decided on Friday, Sept. 16, to send Carter, Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.) and General Colin Powell to try one last time to negotiate the departure of Haiti's military leaders.

The Carter team had a deadline of less than 24 hours. They arrived Saturday afternoon and began their meeting with the Haitian military high command about 2:50 p.m. After one hour, the three statesmen had convinced the generals, for the first time, that force would be used against them if the talks failed. But the Carter team understood what some in the Clinton administration did not—that the Haitian military leaders were not interested in negotiating their exit, wealth or safety. Representing the traditional elites, the military were desperately fearful that Aristide would unleash the masses against them. Moreover, like President Aristide, the generals were proud Haitians, who did not want to surrender or be lectured.

By about 1 p.m. on Sunday, Sept. 18, the Carter team had succeeded in gaining agreement to allow the peaceful entry of U.S. forces into Haiti and the restoration of President Aristide. But there were some details that needed to be negotiated, and time was running out. Suddenly, Gen. Philippe Biamby burst into the room with the news that the men of the 82nd Airborne were being readied for attack, a fact not known to the Carter team, and he accused the three Americans of deception. He informed the three he was taking Cedras to a secure area. The negotiations were over.

It is hard to find a better example of the difference between a credible threat, which was essential to reach an agreement, and the actual use of force, which in this case, was counterproductive. Although ready to sign the agreement, Cedras would not do so after learning the attack had begun. Carter reached deep into his soul to try to persuade the generals to complete the agreement, but he could not overcome their anger and fear. He then tried a different tactic—to change the venue of negotiations, and he asked Cedras to accompany him. At the new site, the presidential palace, de facto President Jonnaissant announced that he would sign the agreement. This created problems for President Clinton and for President Aristide, who was in Washington, and was reluctant to accept any agreement with the military or the de facto government. With the U.S. Air Force halfway to Haiti, President Clinton finally turned the planes around and authorized Carter to sign the agreement on his behalf.

The president asked Carter, Nunn and Powell to return to the White House immediately, and they asked me to remain to brief the U.S. Ambassador and Pentagon officials, who had not participated in the negotiations, and to arrange meetings between Haitian and U.S. military officers. This proved to be extremely difficult because the Haitian general went into hiding, and U.S.

government officials in Port-au-Prince did not trust the Haitian generals to implement the agreement; they feared a double-cross like Harlan County. With less than two hours before touch-down by the U.S. military, I was able to arrange the crucial meetings by sending a mixed harsh-and-intimate message to Cedras through his wife.

U.S. forces arrived without having to fire one shot and 20,000 U.S. troops disembarked without a single casualty or injured civilian.

There was no question that U.S. forces would prevail, but because of the Harlan County, the Somalia experience, and the need to minimize U.S. casualties, the U.S. military plan called for a ferocious assault that would have involved hundreds, perhaps thousands, of Haitian casualties, and inevitably, some Americans. Moreover, as Gen. Hugh Shelton, the commanding officer, told me, such an invasion would have engendered long-term bitterness in some of the Haitian population, making it more difficult for the United Nations to secure order and for the country to build democracy.

Gen. Cedras stepped down from power on Oct. 12 and only then, at the moment that he had the fewest bargaining chips, sought to rent his houses and find a place for asylum.

On Oct. 15, Aristide returned to the presidency and Haiti. He had a second chance, and he showed that he had learned some lessons. He called for national reconciliation and assembled a multi-party government. He proposed an economic program that elicited both praise from the international community and pledges of \$1.2 billion. He establishes a Truth Commission to investigate human rights violations during the military regime but not in a vindictive way. A Police Academy was established to train a new, professional police force. A project on the administrative of justice aimed to train justices of the peace and dispatch them throughout the country. The armed forces had been so thoroughly discredited that Aristide moved quickly to reduce their size and influence and, by spring of this year, to virtually dismantle the institution. In the year since Aristide's return, there have been some political assassinations, but to most Haitians, it has been a period of less fear than ever before.

In December 1994, Aristide created a CEP to prepare for municipal and parliamentary elections. Virtually all of the political parties, including KON-AKOM, PANPRA and FNCD, which had been partners of Aristide in the 1990 election, criticized the CEP for being partial to one faction of the president's supporters, Lavalas, and for being completely unresponsive to their complaints. Unfortunately, there was no mediation between the parties and the CEP and no quick count. Three political parties boycotted the June 25 election, and many of the 27 parties that participated were skeptical that the CEP would conduct a fair election.

An estimated 50 percent cast their ballots, according to OAS estimates. But the most serious problem occurred after the voting stopped, and the counting began. Officials were poorly trained, and I witnessed the most insecure and tainted vote count that I have seen in the course of monitoring 13 "transitional" elections during the last decade. Even before the results were announced, almost all of the political parties, except Lavalas, called for an annulment and the recall of the CEP members. On July 12, the CEP finally released some of the results that showed Lavalas doing the best, with the FNCD and KONAKOM trailing far behind. Perhaps as many as one-fifth of the elections needed to be held again, and the majority of the Senate and Deputy seats required a runoff. Of the 84 main mayoral elections, Lavalas won 64, including Port-au-Prince, by

a margin of 45-18 percent over incumbent Mayor Evans Paul.

The CEP went ahead with the rerun of some elections on Aug. 13 and the runoff of other elections on Sept. 17 despite the boycott of virtually all the political parties. Again, there was practically no campaign, and despite great efforts by President Aristide to get people to vote, the turnout was very low.

Therefore, the parliamentary and municipal elections cannot be viewed as a step forward. Moreover, the government hurt the fragile party system by seducing opposition candidates to participate in the runoff contrary to their parties' decision. Partly because of the opposition boycott, and partly because of Aristide's continued popularity, Lavalas swept the runoff elections, giving it 80 percent of the Deputy and two-thirds of the Senate seats.

The opposition parties condemned the Parliament as illegitimate, and many feared that Haiti was moving to a one-party state. Lavalas could prove as fractious as the original Aristide coalition, but regardless, an opportunity for a more inclusive democracy and an impartial electoral process was lost.

If an effective mediation does not enlist the participation of the opposition parties in time for the presidential elections next month, the new president's authority will be impugned, especially if the Constitution were changed illegally to permit Aristide to run again. If the U.N. forces depart on the inauguration of the new president, the old elite of the country will no doubt try to use the questionable authority of the new president to weaken him even as they try to seduce the new police force. The only way that democracy can be preserved in Haiti is if the new police force remains professional and accountable to the rule of law. If the force is co-opted by the rich, as has occurred in the past, then a popular democracy cannot survive.

The international community and Haiti formed a remarkable partnership in the summer of 1990 to reinforce the democratic process and to respond positively to Haiti's double challenge—to respect Haitians and to make the country a part of a democratic hemisphere.

Returning to Haiti with Carter and Powell last February, Sen. Nunn said, "We have a one-year plan for a 10-year challenge." Haiti's democratic experiment will be endangered if it does not ask the United States and the United Nations to remain after February 1996, and if those two entities do not agree to stay. To keep the process on track, the Haitian government needs to respond fully to the legitimate concerns with the electoral process raised by the opposition parties. Only then can meaningful presidential elections occur. The second step is for the international community to ensure that a multi-party democracy takes root in Haiti.

## HISPANIC BUSINESS WEEK

HON. WILLIAM J. MARTINI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1995

Mr. MARTINI. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in honor and recognition of Hispanic Business Week, acknowledging the contributions of the Hispanic community. This week was recognized the week of October 30—November 4, 1995.

The Hispanic community exemplifies daily the strong work and business ethic so very important in every career and in our lives. Our

proud Hispanic-American community in New Jersey is indeed one of the reasons the Garden State is a national leader in job creation and economic growth. Through the work of the statewide Hispanic Chamber of Commerce of New Jersey, Hispanic business leaders expand their enterprises and develop a strong work ethic. I thank them for their special and invaluable contributions to my home State.

On behalf of my colleagues, I would like to acknowledge our appreciation of, and pride in, the Hispanic community and congratulate them for a successful celebration this year of Hispanic Business Week.

#### TRIBUTE TO DEV ANAND

HON. HOWARD L. BERMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1995

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am honored to pay tribute to Dev Anand, one of the giants of Indian cinema, who will be honored this fall by the National Federation of Indo-American Associations. Mr. Anand made his first film in 1945. Since then he has not only starred in countless films, but has produced, written, and directed numerous projects under the banner of Navketan Films. He is both a prolific and talented performer.

The key to Mr. Anand's continued success lies in his willingness to change and mold himself according to the times, as well as in his never-say-die spirit. He is always involved in new projects which sustain his bubbling enthusiasm and dynamism. These range from being the first to use Himalayan backgrounds for love stories, to producing a smash hit based on the hippie phenomenon as seen from the point of view of the Indian popular establishment, to singing rap songs. The word "impossible" simply does not exist in Mr. Anand's dictionary. His impact on the Indian film industry is such that many producers ask their heroes to imitate Dev Anand.

In 1963, Mr. Anand collaborated with Pearl S. Buck on an award-winning film entitled "Guide," which was recorded in Hindi and English. In the film, he stars as the scurrilous guide who redeems himself by fasting to death for rain to save the lives of millions of drought-stricken villagers.

Mr. Anand is celebrating his 50 years of work in the Indian film industry with the release of "Gangster," which will premiere in eight U.S. cities. This will give American audiences the rare treat of being able to see Mr. Anand's skills for themselves. Prior to his U.S. appearances, he will be exhibiting his film at the Shanghai Film Festival, and is invited to address the union at Oxford University.

I ask my colleagues to join me today in saluting Dev Anand, a legend in Indian cinema, and a true artist. All Americans who care about film and culture are honored by his presence on our shores.

#### CONGRATULATIONS TO ST. JOSEPH'S HIGH SCHOOL

HON. TIM ROEMER

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1995

Mr. ROEMER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor and pay tribute to one of the most domi-

nant teams in the history of Indiana high school football: the South Bend St. Joseph's Indians. On Saturday, November 25, the Indians and Head Coach Frank Amato defeated favored Jasper High School 28-0 to claim the 1995 Class 3-A State Championship, the first football title for the city of South Bend since the Washington Panthers won the 3-A crown in 1973.

This victory was an appropriate climax to an unforgettable season. In finishing the year with a perfect 14-0 record, St. Joe's outscored its opponents by a combined 588-72. The offense, which averaged 42 a game, compiled close to 300 yards on the ground in the championship. Thanks to a powerful offensive line, St. Joe's quarterback Blair Kyle, tailback Sean Waite, and fullback Christian Hurley each rushed for close to or over 100 yards.

The defensive unit of Marques Clayton, Ben Downey, Trevor Dokes, Jeff Harris, Dan Luther, Pace McCormick, Jason Pikuz, Jeremy Remble, Pete Riordan, Rashwan Seward and Sean Waite, was just as spectacular. The Championship victory was their seventh shut-out in a season in which they allowed an average of just 5.1 points a game. In the second half of the victory over Jasper, the defense gave up just 1 yard of offense until the final 2 minutes.

It is often commented that no team in the National Football League will ever be able to duplicate the undefeated season of the 1972 Miami Dolphins. Mr. Speaker, I believe the same can be said of the 1995 South Bend St. Joseph's Indians. They have set a standard of excellence which champions of the future will have a difficult time equalling or even approaching.

#### LOBBYING REFORM: FINALLY

HON. THOMAS M. BARRETT

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1995

Mr. BARRETT of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, in the last 2 weeks, we have witnessed an incredible change in the balance of power here in Washington. The influence of lobbyists is declining, and the layer of wealthy special interests that shields the American people from their elected officials has begun to disappear.

On November 16, the House adopted a rule prohibiting Members and staff from accepting almost all gifts. And yesterday, we unanimously passed a Senate bill requiring increased disclosure by those who are paid to lobby Congress and the executive branch. This bill, the first substantial change in lobbying disclosure requirements in 50 years, now goes to the President for his signature.

Up until the final vote, however, the lobbying bill was in grave danger of death by amendment. Senate passage of the tough new requirements in July represented a hard-fought compromise painstakingly crafted by Members of both parties. In the House, some Members were not satisfied and proposed to amend the bill, knowing that the adoption of any amendments would send the measure back to the Senate and would threaten that body's fragile compromise. In other words, amending the bill would mean the end of lobbying reform.

During consideration of the bill in the House, I voted against each of the four amendments

that was offered. Most of them have merit, and under different circumstances would win my support. But on this occasion, I joined a majority of my colleagues in demanding that a clean bill be passed and sent on to the President.

Last year, both the House and Senate passed similar lobbying reform bills, but the effort was derailed in conference by those who opposed the cause of reform. For that reason, it was imperative to avoid a conference this time around. The Senate sent us a good bill, and I am delighted that we passed it unanimously without change. Once the President signs it, this chapter in the history of reform will be complete.

#### MEDICARE

HON. RON PACKARD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1995

Mr. PACKARD. Mr. Speaker, I was proud to cast a historic vote to save Medicare for current and future beneficiaries. This is a serious effort to deal with a tough problem. We simply cannot sustain Medicare's current astronomical growth.

Our plan gives seniors new choices. Now, they will have the same access to health care their children and grandchildren have—whether it is managed care, preferred provider networks, medical savings accounts, provider services, or traditional fee for service.

Each and every senior will have all of these health care providers competing for their business. Once market forces do their magic, seniors will find they have better health care at less cost. For the first time, beneficiaries will be able to take advantage of new, advanced technologies that previously were unavailable under the old Medicare. Medicare-plus will provide seniors with new choices. Each year, beneficiaries will receive information outlining all of their choices. Every plan offered must be at least as good as the current Medicare.

Mr. Speaker, there is only one plan to save Medicare. The Republican plan. The plan offered by my colleagues on the other side of the aisle is simply a Band-Aid. The substitute they have proposed reveals, yet again, that Democrats are willing to let Medicare go bankrupt. It is not an alternative for seniors who rely on Medicare now or in the future.

Medicare needs a big fix, not a Band-Aid.

#### INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SUSTAINABLE CONTRIBUTION OF FISHERIES TO FOOD SECURITY

HON. DON YOUNG

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1995

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, December 4 through December 9, 1995, the

Government of Japan will host an international conference on Sustainable Contribution of Fisheries to Food Security in collaboration with the Food and Agriculture Organization [FAO] of the United Nations. This Conference will provide an excellent opportunity for international awareness and understanding of the varied economic, social, and cultural diversity of the utilization of marine resources throughout the world. Delegates representing government and nongovernmental organizations will discuss options and strategies to ensure the sustainable contribution of fisheries to the world's food security in the future.

While the present food fish production throughout the world is approximately 72 million tons, it is projected that the demand for food fish will reach 105 million tons in the year 2010, when the world population reaches 7 billion. Clearly, nations must initiate measures to achieve a sustainable increase in fish production through cooperation on rational utilization measures and implementation of sound conservation programs. It is clear that those of us living at the end of the 20th century have the responsibility to provide a stable food supply system and maintain those reasonable resources for present and future generations. Living aquatic resources are renewable and can provide increased food for human consumption through responsible management and appropriate harvest and handling practices. Such a goal can be achieved if utilization of these resources is based on objective scientific and socio-economic data and principles that recognize and respect the importance of culture and traditions, guarantee the integrity of ecosystems that support living aquatic food resources, and encompass sound management measures through national, and where appropriate, multinational management programs.

I commend the Government of Japan for taking the initiative in hosting this important Conference and I wish the delegates to the Conference much success in their deliberations. As chairman of the Resources Committee of the House of Representatives, I look forward to reviewing their observations, conclusions, and recommendations.

#### SUPPORTS CATS AND YOUTH PROGRAMS

HON. ELIZABETH FURSE

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 30, 1995*

Ms. FURSE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of the Community Action Teams Program [CATS], and other summer youth programs that provide children with healthy alternatives to engaging in gang activity and criminal behavior. Last summer, I had the opportunity to visit with children who participated in this unique summer youth program which emphasizes helping others and teaches the value of hard work. I learned firsthand of the positive difference the CATS programs and other similar programs are having nationwide on our children and in the community. The CATS program is primarily sponsored by the Yamhill County Sheriff's Department in partnership with local schools and the community. This strong partnership between law enforcement and the community enables traditionally poor

and underserved areas such as Yamhill County, to pool together their resources to provide a service to children and families.

Yamhill County is rural area in my home district of Oregon with limited resources. Through its creative partnership, Yamhill County has been able to offer this quality program which benefits the community. I applaud Yamhill County's efforts to collaborate and deter our children from criminal activity and I urge other Members to recognize the importance and value of summer youth programs and crime prevention.

#### LIBERTYVILLE HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS PROTEST AGAINST HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN NIGERIA

HON. JOHN EDWARD PORTER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 30, 1995*

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, I always have said that I am honored to represent one of the most educated, enlightened, caring districts in our country. Today, the meritorious actions by some of the younger members in my district have proven my point, making me proud once again. I want to commend the Libertyville High School students in my district, who last week waged a protest outside a local Shell gasoline station in response to the barbarous executions of Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other Ogoni leaders by the Nigerian military regime. Under the banner of Amnesty International, these students hope to put pressure on Shell, whose Nigerian branch alone accounts for half the government's income, to use their financial power to influence positive change in Nigeria.

In a time when we question our ability to influence global change, I praise these high school students not only for their global awareness, but also for their compassion and drive that has compelled them to rise from the classroom and take their cause to a forum where their demands cannot be ignored. Refusing to be silent, these half-dozen students have no inhibitions about sending a loud message to an oil giant that it has a moral and ethical responsibility to use its power to help influence the Nigerian Government to stop committing these atrocious human rights violations.

I fully support these students who have reiterated my own outrage at the Nigerian regime. As cochairman of the Congressional Human Rights Caucus, I have sent numerous letters to the Nigerian Government demanding reform. Additionally, I held hearings in response to the latest tragic executions. Today, Representative DON PAYNE of New Jersey and I and a number of other original cosponsors will introduce a bill calling for sanctions against Nigeria. We must all continue putting pressure on the Nigerian Government any way we can, until democracy and the rule of law is restored to Nigeria. I am pleased to work with the Libertyville High School students to this end.

#### PUERTO RICAN HERITAGE MONTH

HON. WILLIAM J. MARTINI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 30, 1995*

Mr. MARTINI. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in honor and recognition of November 1995, as Puerto Rican Heritage Month. The achievements and contributions of Puerto Rican-Americans should be acknowledged by us all.

I especially would like to discuss an organization from my home State, *Comite Noviembre de New Jersey*. Founded in 1987, *Comite* has clearly promoted a holistic understanding of Puerto Rican culture in New Jersey and all over the United States. By highlighting social, economic, cultural, and political accomplishments, *Comite* has etched the history of the Puerto Rican people in the minds of all Americans. Widespread education has served a dual role: the *Comite* has strengthened a sense of cultural pride among young Puerto Ricans and has simultaneously generated respect for the Puerto Rican culture amongst non-Puerto Rican Americans.

Puerto Rican Heritage Month serves to further our understanding and appreciation of Puerto Rican leaders of the past and the present. It also unifies Puerto Rican Americans by instilling a sense of pride in where they have been, and where they are going as a people. As head of the *Comite Noviembre*, Jose Angel Villalonga has recognized November 30, 1995, as a day to pay tribute to Puerto Rican leaders of the State of New Jersey and the youth of the State. This day is dedicated to local Puerto Ricans in recognition of their outstanding contributions to the community and the family unit. They are not only models for this generation but also for generations to come, and of most importance, they are inspirations to us all.

*Comite* is committed to supporting people and inspiring and educating future generations. By the year 2000, the *Comite Noviembre de New Jersey* hopes that all Americans will realize and appreciate the richness of culture and heritage found within the Puerto Rican community.

I would like to offer my most sincere admiration and praise to the Puerto Rican-Americans of my congressional district and across the Nation as we celebrate Puerto Rican Heritage Month. This is a time of celebration to be enjoyed by all.

#### TRIBUTE TO A SAN DIEGO EMPLOYER WORKING FOR TECHNOLOGY IN EDUCATION

HON. RANDY "DUKE" CUNNINGHAM

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 30, 1995*

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to a local employer in San Diego which has made a special commitment to advancing the use and availability of high technology in education. That employer is Sony Electronics, Inc., which has a major plant in Rancho Bernardo, in my congressional district.

Technology in education is one of my great interests and top priorities. For several years,

and in several ways, Sony Electronics Inc. has demonstrated a strong interest in the education of children.

Sony has been an active participant in all five of my annual TechFair education-high technology symposia. TechFairs bring local high school students together with San Diego's leading high-technology employers and researchers. The students learn about career opportunities in high technology, and speak one-on-one with men and women who work in high-technology fields every day. They learn what kind of education they need to succeed in the good paying, high-technology careers of today and tomorrow. This year's TechFair, held at the new Scripps Ranch High School, featured a demonstration of Sony's new digital satellite communications technology. Partly as a result of Sony's longstanding commitment to technology in education, the 1995 TechFair was the biggest and best ever.

They have also sponsored the 24 Challenge mathematics competition I initiated with San Diego schools.

I have also had the privilege of addressing students participating in Sony's Student Project Abroad. Under this program, Sony selects top math and science from around the country in an educational and cultural exchange. They spend 2 weeks visiting Sony plants in San Diego and Japan, and learn about high-technology manufacturing.

Most recently, on October 12 and 13, Sony participated in a distance learning conference based in Johnston, IA, with Gov. Terry Branstad and other State and local officials. They explored and shared ways to affordably link rural areas, particularly our schools, through new telecommunications technologies.

The future of our work to expand the technological literacy of the next generation of Americans depends not on larger Federal programs run from Washington, or on an expansion of the huge national debt. Our promise lies in the ingenuity of individuals and private enterprise, and companies like Sony, who are willingly volunteering their personnel and expertise to inspire and teach tomorrow's scientists and engineers.

#### SALUTING THE CONGREGATION OF THE SALEM LUTHERAN CHURCH OF ROSEHILL, TX

HON. JACK FIELDS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 30, 1995*

Mr. FIELDS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, faith is a wonderful but mysterious thing. It enhances our lives when times are good, and sustains us when life seems almost unbearable. Faith in God and love for one's fellow man are two of the most valuable gifts a person can possess.

The men, women, and children who attend the Salem Lutheran Church in Rosehill, TX, realize that their faith springs from within. They recognize that their church's foundation is built on more than brick, concrete, and glass. They understand that that foundation is built upon the faith, the kindness and the compassion of each and every one of the church's members.

Sadly, I must report that on the evening of Tuesday, November 21, a four-alarm fire de-

stroyed the sanctuary of the Salem Lutheran Church. More than 25 fire trucks from Rosehill and nearby communities responded to the blaze, and only because of the decisive action of one fire fighter was the church's family center saved from destruction.

Mr. Speaker, Salem Lutheran Church is the oldest Missouri Lutheran Church in the State of Texas. When founded in 1852, Salem Lutheran Church was the first church in the Tomball area, which then was known as Peck. In 1870, the one-room sanctuary was transformed into the Salem Lutheran School, with students in grades one through eight attending. A new sanctuary was erected nearby.

Despite its long and proud history, Salem Lutheran Church has also known tragedy and heartache. In 1964, the church pastor and his wife were killed in an auto accident. Then, several months later, the church burned to the ground. Finally a new structure was built, and it was dedicated in 1967.

Now that the sanctuary is gone, church services will be held at Salem Lutheran School. The 2,000 members of the church's congregation can look forward to better days ahead, however.

Even before the November 21 blase, the church had begun a new, 2,000-seat sanctuary, which, when completed, will be the largest Missouri Synod Lutheran Church in Texas. While construction of the new structure will continue for at least another year, I am confident that the congregation of Salem Lutheran Church will get through this difficult time because of its faith.

No one knows why this latest disaster has struck Salem Lutheran Church. When adversity strikes, we often ask ourselves what we did to arouse God's wrath. The fact is that God has a plan for each and every one of use who believes in Him, including the men, women, and children who attend the Salem Lutheran Church.

This latest tragedy, no matter how difficult it is for us to understand, is a part of that plan. And that knowledge will, I hope, sustain senior pastor Wayne Grauman; administrative pastor Doug Dommer; pastor of care and counseling Craig Whitson; and the entire congregation of the Salem Lutheran Church of Rosehill in the weeks and months ahead.

Mr. Speaker, I know you join with me in keeping the congregation of the Salem Lutheran Church in our thoughts and prayers, and wishing them a full and speedy recovery from this most recent tragedy.

#### TRIBUTE TO ANETA CORSAUT

HON. HOWARD L. BERMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

HON. HENRY A. WAXMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 30, 1995*

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Speaker, we are honored to pay tribute to Aneta Corsaut, a dear friend, who died much too young from cancer this November. Aneta was a spirited, warm, and lovely woman who had a heartfelt compassion for others. Those who knew her well were touched by her selflessness and feelings of empathy. She was a special person, and we will miss her very much.

Born in Hutchinson, KS, Aneta came to southern California in 1950's to pursue her dream of being an actress. She landed a part in "The Blob," which has become a science fiction cult classic and, later, had a recurring role on the Andy Griffith Show as Helen Crump, Andy's girlfriend. Whether on the New York stage—where she started—or a Hollywood soundstage, Aneta found success in a profession that is notoriously difficult. All of her friends were so proud of her accomplishments.

But there was another side to Aneta, a side that brought her into our world. Aneta had a passion for politics, especially Democratic Party politics—a rarity for a person from Kansas. We would like to think that her political affiliation was a direct result of her selfless, caring nature. Most important, she was an unapologetic liberal to the end.

We both had the good fortune to work with Aneta. Her dedication to causes and issues was heartening. At a time of widespread cynicism and apathy Aneta was the perfect counter, a living, breathing example of how essential it is for people to get involved. We—all of us—need more Aneta Corsauts in this world.

Mr. Speaker, we ask our colleagues to join us today in saluting Aneta Corsaut, whose life is an inspiration to all. We were lucky indeed to have known her.

#### TRIBUTE TO PENN HIGH SCHOOL

HON. TIM ROEMER

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 30, 1995*

Mr. ROEMER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor and pay tribute to the 1995 State of Indiana Class 5-A football champions: my alma mater, the Penn Kingsmen. On Saturday, November 25, Head Coach Chris Geesman and the Kingsmen completed a perfect 14-0 season by crushing favored Evansville North 35-13 in the State final.

Penn's second State football championship marked the end of what might be considered the most spectacular title run in Indiana playoff history. The last seven teams which Penn faced had a combined record of 55-8. Not only did the Kingsmen emerge victorious in each of these games, they did so by an average score of 25-6.

For the season, which marked Penn's 23d consecutive winning year, the Kingsmen outscored their opponents by a total of 424-84 and finished with a plus-36 turnover ratio. In the final, their Wild Bunch defense forced five turnovers, which the Gold Rush offense converted into victory.

I would also like to commend Penn quarterback, Matt Geesman, for being the recipient of the coveted Phil Eskew Mental Attitude Award. Matt is more than a talented quarterback and team leader. He is also an extraordinary student who is first in his class with a perfect 4.0 grade point average.

In closing, Mr. Speaker, I would once again like to congratulate Coach Geesman, the assistant coaches, and the entire team on their first State football championship since 1983. Few people thought this team had what it took, but in the end, hard work, unselfish play, and flawless execution combined to bring the Indiana Class 5-A trophy to Mishawaka.

## THE SKY IS NOT FALLING

HON. ERNEST J. ISTOOK, JR.

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 30, 1995*

Mr. ISTOOK. Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend my fellow Oklahoman, Paul Harvey, for correctly pointing out that the theory of global warming is not supported by the facts. The scare mongers would have us shut down our domestic energy production based upon falsehoods. The scare mongers are receiving grants from taxpayers to attack taxpayers' livelihoods. I thank Paul for letting America know the truth.

[From the *Climatology*, Oct. 17, 1995]

## THE SKY IS NOT FALLING

Many scholars and institutions secure grant money for research by scaring people—by producing bad news about population, about resources, about environment.

One recent-years bogey has been the claim by some academics that "the sky is falling."

Specifically, these scaremongers argue that our use of fossil fuels is figuratively burning a hole in the sky, letter in too much sun, threatening global warming.

This year's Nobel Prize was awarded to three disciples of that theory—that chemical actions are breaking down atmospheric ozone.

Robert Balling, Junior is director of the Office of Climatology at Arizona State University.

He says those peddling this pessimistic prognosis are false—alarmists.

And, he notes, the New York Times is parroting this apocalyptic view of the future, giving its front page to the theory of planetary temperature increases over the past 40 years, retreating glaciers, increasing sea levels and the increase in both drought and heavy rain.

In rebuttal this climatologist responds with satellite measurements. Rather than global warming, this most accurate of all ways of measuring the Earth's temperature shows a slight "global cooling" since 1979.

The Arctic area, where most warming should be expected, has warmed not at all over the past sixteen years according to our satellite observations. According to the measurement of standard weather stations there has been no measurable warming over the past 50 years.

And, says, this climatologist, while some glaciers have retreated—others have advanced—including large ice sheets in Antarctica and Greenland.

Organizations within the United Nations, anticipating the inevitability of budget cuts, are desperately seeking to justify their existence.

The United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (PCC) is composed of 2,500 scientists around the world.

Its recent book-length report, clearly labeled, "FOR INTERNAL USE ONLY. DO NOT DISTRIBUTE"... was nonetheless distributed.

It was intended to be circulated among contributors for their further evaluation and further contributions.

Instead it was "leaked" to media people who focused on the summary section and sounded an alarm which has embarrassed many of the scientists who contributed to the study.

There is just enough "Chicken Little" in all of us so that the tabloids with the most gross headlines are the ones which sell best.

I promise, before the sky falls, to let you know.

## OUR TROOPS IN BOSNIA

HON. NICK SMITH

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 30, 1995*

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I question the President's decision to send 20,000 American ground troops to Bosnia. With the additional military personnel the President has committed to the Balkans, our total presence will be over 30,000 men and women.

I believe that, as Americans, we best serve our Nation's foreign policy interests when we present a single, unified voice. The President, however, hasn't yet presented a compelling case for American combat troops.

I am willing to listen to the President, and will base my decision on the following criteria: Is the deployment of troops in our national interest? Are the mission's objectives clearly defined and obtainable? Can the mission be accomplished and finalized within a reasonable time period?

I will evaluate all the facts and, in consultation with the Defense Department and other military experts, reach a decision at the appropriate time.

CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 2126,  
DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE AP-  
PROPRIATIONS ACT, 1996

SPEECH OF

HON. NANCY PELOSI

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 16, 1995*

Ms. PELOSI. I rise to oppose the conference report for H.R. 2126, Department of Defense appropriations for fiscal year 1996. On September 29, this House defeated the DOD conference report by a vote of 151 to 267. Since that vote, there have been only minor changes to the contents of this conference report and it should be rejected.

Like the first conference agreement, this conference agreement appropriates a total of \$243.4 billion for defense programs—nearly \$7 billion more than the administration's request. When combined with the defense-related provisions of other appropriations bills, this Congress will have appropriated nearly \$265 billion for defense-related programs during this fiscal year.

My colleagues, these enormous expenditures represent a much greater threat to the security of this country than the former Soviet Union ever did. In order to fund unnecessary weapons systems like the B-2 and the *Seawolf* submarine, we have slashed funding for health care insurance programs, decent and affordable housing, and many higher education opportunities for young Americans.

We should support a level of defense spending necessary to meet our legitimate security needs. We should not support a conference agreement that is filled with corporate pork and wasteful expenditures. Vote "no" on this conference report.

INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN'S WISH  
WEEK

HON. WILLIAM J. MARTINI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 30, 1995*

Mr. MARTINI. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in honor and recognition of International Children's Wish Week: November 26 to December 2, 1995.

This special week recognizes the courage of terminally ill children who while facing horrible, debilitating diseases manage to remain strong, and the organization that aims to keep their hopes up. Their high spirits send a message of joy and hope to be emulated and celebrated by us all.

Devoting this 1 week to victims of terminal medical diseases, Children's Wish Foundation International, an outstanding organization committed to fulfilling the dreams of terminally ill children, invites volunteers to support these wonderful children and their families.

The Children's Wish Foundation International is a non-profit service organization that brings happiness, comfort, and warmth to children and their families whose most lucid memories involve hospitals, doctors, and a sterile environment. To alleviate their pain, the foundation strives to fulfill a child's wish. The only payment received by the foundation is witnessing the joy that they have brought to a child and their family.

Thousands of wishes have come true all over the United States and throughout the world. Celebrities and professionals of all types volunteer their time and money to make wishes into realities. The joy that is generated fills the hearts of everyone involved, from the child and their family to the member of the Children's Wish Foundation who made the wish come true.

To the Children's Wish Foundation International and International Children's Wish Week, I would like to extend my sincerest admiration and gratitude. The special services you provide and your ceaseless generosity are models for us all.

A TRIBUTE TO BROTHER BOOKER  
T. ASHE

HON. THOMAS M. BARRETT

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 30, 1995*

Mr. BARRETT of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I pay tribute today to the outstanding accomplishments of one of Milwaukee's most beloved citizens. As Brother Booker T. Ashe steps down from his duties at the House of Peace in Milwaukee, I would like to take a moment to reflect on his remarkable contributions to our city and our country.

Brother Booker as he is fondly known has dedicated his entire life to the cause of helping others. For 28 years, Brother Booker has been an unfailing presence in our community. In 1967, he founded Milwaukee's House of Peace, one of the Nation's most successful nonprofit institutions created from a central city storefront with one mission: to provide help for those in need. Brother Booker has always been there. Whether he is providing food to

strangers in the middle of the night, counsel young youth about the vital importance of education, or helping adults to read and write, Brother Booker's every act has been selfless and charitable.

Brother Booker has long been a voice of conscience in Milwaukee. When he speaks, people literally hang on to his words and stop in their tracks. Aside from his personal contributions to the community, Brother Booker has been instrumental in convincing others to provide financial backing for scores of community development projects which have strengthened our neighborhoods. The Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel put it best when it recently wrote, "Ashe is a man with an extraordinary social conscience . . . this champion of the poor has as much compassion as Job had patience."

Milwaukee has been truly blessed by his presence in our community. We know that no one can fill Brother Booker's shoes. Fortunately, he has inspired a countless number of people in our community to continue his good works and uphold his principles. Indeed, Brother Booker will remain a spiritual force in Milwaukee well into the next century. Despite his retirement, his work will be carried on by the thousands whose lives he has touched.

Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues to join me in paying tribute to Brother Booker T. Ashe. I join with the city of Milwaukee in praising this outstanding individual and friend to all, and wish him health and happiness in his retirement.

#### DON'T HURT VETERANS

HON. SAM FARR

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1995

Mr. FARR of California. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, November 29, the House of Representatives voted to return the VA-HUD appropriations bill to conference. By doing so, Congress recognized that the bill was unfair legislation which neglected the needs of our Nation's veterans and military retirees.

The bill underfunded many important veterans programs. It eliminated educational help for those willing to work at VA facilities. It cut money for construction, modernization, and improvement of VA facilities. It reduced funding for VA programs by over \$40 million from last year.

But above all, the VA-HUD bill provided insufficient funding for veterans medical care—\$400 million less than the President requested. In my district, tens of thousands of veterans and military retirees rely on VA medical programs. The cuts in the bill would have threatened the quality care they depend on.

I joined the 217 other Members—Democrats and Republicans—to recommit the VA-HUD bill in order to fix this serious flaw. Our motion to recommit specifically requested that \$213 million be restored to veterans' health care programs. Without this additional funding, the bill would have forced our veterans and military retirees to make an extra and unfair sacrifice in the name of deficit reduction.

Veterans and military retirees are willing to take their fair share of spending cuts in order to eliminate the deficit. But they do not deserve burdensome cuts which unfairly target them.

Our bipartisan vote yesterday will go a long way toward making the bill better, one that treats all our Nation's veterans and retirees fairly.

#### QUESTIONS CONCERNING TROOPS IN BOSNIA REMAIN

HON. DOUG BEREUTER

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1995

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, this Member commends to his colleagues an editorial which appeared in the Omaha World-Herald on November 29, 1995.

SPEECH DIDN'T BUILD CONFIDENCE; QUESTIONS ABOUT BOSNIA REMAIN

People who looked for a specific, confidence-building explanation for sending American troops to Bosnia were entitled to be disappointed with President Clinton's speech Monday night.

Clinton addressed the nation to seek support for his proposal to send 20,000 troops into an arena where political, ethnic and religious factions have been waging war for centuries. He said 20,000 troops are needed to help NATO enforce the peace agreement negotiated at Dayton, Ohio, by the presidents of Bosnia, Serbia and Croatia.

The president was unconvincing even on the central question of why the national interest requires placing American men and women on the ground in the middle of this ancient conflict. (The U.S. Air Force and Navy already are heavily involved.)

Yes, as he said, America has ideals. Yes, it has fought in Europe twice before to "triumph over tyranny." Yes, it has certain international responsibilities that come with being the world's most powerful nation. And certainly the suffering of innocent civilians in Bosnia-Herzegovina has touched hearts around the world.

But a recitation of those facts doesn't constitute a reasoned argument for putting American ground troops in extreme peril. This isn't World War I, when America came to the aid of Western democracies to prevent their being crushed by imperial powers. Neither is it World War II, when America entered and ultimately led the great struggle to prevent the Nazis and fascists from enslaving a good part of the world.

The conflict in the Balkans is a regional problem. No one has demonstrated that it is a threat to Western civilization in general or to America's national interests.

The president said, "We're all vulnerable to the organized forces of intolerance and destruction, terrorism, ethnic, religious and regional rivalries, the spread of organized crime and weapons on mass destruction and drug trafficking. Just as surely as fascism and communism, these forces also threaten freedom and democracy, peace and prosperity. And they, too, demand American leadership."

Few would question the world's vulnerability to those forces. But what does any of that have to do with sending U.S. troops to Bosnia? If these "organized forces" are the primary reason for committing troops, why doesn't the United States have an infantry division in Rwanda, in Northern Ireland, in India, in Pakistan?

Clinton said the Americans would fight back if attacked. "We will fight fire with fire, and then some," he said. Clinton said the mission would take about a year.

How does anybody know that? As \* \* \* noted, animosities have been known to lie

dormant in the Balkans for years, then break out in bitter, bloody warfare. What guarantee does Clinton have that fighting wouldn't resume as soon as the Americans left?

What assurances does he offer that the mission won't go on indefinitely? How could anybody be sure that the fighting wouldn't escalate if American troops were attacked and forced to defend themselves?

In promising that the troops would help restore normal life for the people of Bosnia, Clinton made it sound as though the people of Bosnia were one society. They are badly divided, however. What Clinton didn't say is that the peace treaty, to accommodate the fact that the factions detest each other deeply, provides for the partition of the country into a Bosnian-Serb sector and a Muslim-Croat sector. \* \* \*

#### TRIBUTE TO ELLEN JEPSON

HON. DUNCAN HUNTER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1995

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize the truly remarkable life and accomplishments of a constituent in my district, Mrs. Ellen Jepson, of Imperial, CA. Mrs. Jepson recently passed away in La Jolla, CA, after surgery at a local hospital. A mother of three and grandmother of six, Ellen can best be described as an extraordinary woman who never missed an opportunity to give of herself.

A native of Oklahoma, Ellen devoted much of her time and energy as a volunteer for various senior citizen organizations in the Imperial Valley. Her reputation as a considerate and caring human being was well known throughout the communities of the Valley. Ellen's desire to help others was an overriding concern that occupied her life until her final days.

One of Ellen's previous responsibilities included directing the senior information and referral service for the Salvation Army. During a period in her life when many people would have been content simply pursuing leisurely activities, Ellen opted to make assisting others her passion. Regularly acknowledged for her outstanding conduct, Mrs. Jepson was honored by numerous local organizations and three California Governors for her selfless work.

Most recently, Ellen served as the volunteer director of senior emergency services for the United Way of Imperial County. She tirelessly assisted seniors in a variety of ways: arranging for transportation to medical appointments, filling out paperwork, and providing help with utility bills and medication payments. Moreover, as a member of the advisory board to the Agency on Aging, Ellen was able to further assist seniors by providing Government officials with the input necessary to formulate policy for the region's aged population.

Mr. Speaker, in an age where our own personal needs and requirements seem to monopolize our priorities, I feel people like Mrs. Ellen Jepson should be recognized as heroes. I believe that perhaps we should all take note of Ellen's productive and esteemed life and modify our own accordingly. Too often, our lives are filled with news and accounts that revolve around the negative; Ellen was a positive assurance that this Nation is made up of

generous and considerate human beings. I will sorely miss her.

CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 2099,  
DEPARTMENTS OF VETERANS  
AFFAIRS AND HOUSING AND  
URBAN DEVELOPMENT, AND  
INDEPENDENT AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1996

SPEECH OF

HON. Y. TIM HUTCHINSON

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, November 29, 1995*

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, as a staunch defender of both veterans and the balanced budget, I want to set the record straight on how veterans are being treated under the GOP's 7-year plan.

Under the conference agreement for VA/ HUD appropriations, VA Medical Care is increased by \$400 million over last year's level. Medical Research is increased by \$5 million over last year's level and the Minor Construction Program is increased by \$37 million over last year's level. Through responsible deficit reduction measures, we seek to preserve the dignity of veterans and the standard of living for future generations.

The VA/ HUD Appropriations Act is very generous to veterans' programs. In fact, the VA/ HUD act reflects cuts in nearly every other agency program or account except VA's Medical Care Account. This increase comes at a time of a declining population and declining utilization of VA hospitals. It might interest you to know that on any given day between 23 percent and 50 percent of all beds in VA hospitals lie vacant. The money used to staff, and heat empty beds could be better used in the actual delivery of services to veterans.

According to GAO, if the VA were to analyze the President's budget using the same assumptions the Department used when it analyzed the budget approved by the Congress, the VA would find that veterans are better off under the congressional budget than under the President's own plan. When the Secretary of Veterans Affairs was asked if veterans would suffer more under the Clinton administration's plan he said, "that's absolutely right."

The Republican plan will preserve and fund VA health care at a level that ensures the quality that veterans have come to expect. But it also tasks the system to become more efficient and deliver care in a more cost-effective manner. VA spends more than \$5,000 per patient per year. This is \$1,800 more than Medicare and a whopping \$3,800 more than the private sector. Looking at these numbers, there must be ways for the VA to become more efficient.

Health care is changing rapidly and VA must be part of that change.

We need to question the need for more buildings and instead look for ways to provide more care. VA has historically been an institutionally based system that now is forced to support an aging network of 173 hospitals, 376 outpatient clinics, 133 nursing homes, and 39 domiciliaries. We need to seriously examine what, where, and if VA needs to build in order to better serve veterans. The approach taken by this conference bill is a step in the right di-

rection by asking the VA to assemble a long-term plan for its infrastructure and construction needs. The VA, must begin to plan strategically like the private sector, taking into consideration such factors as an increasingly constrained budgetary environment, a declining veteran population, shifting demographics, and the rapidly changing health care market. Today, when 9 out of 10 veterans have access to private health insurance, and 10 percent of current VA users are leaving the VA system to use Medicare, we seriously have to question the need for more facilities. The major construction level of \$136 million and the minor construction level of \$190 million reverse the historical trend of anchoring the VA in bricks and mortar. Today's health care is becoming less and less institutional. The VA must be part of that trend. It must have the flexibility to go to the veterans instead of requiring the veteran to travel long distances to procure health care in often aging and obsolete facilities.

I believe that veterans and taxpayers will be better served by a VA that is more efficient and provides more accountability to those who provide the basis of its support. This bill is pro-veteran. It shows that Republicans are committed to putting veterans first.

CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 2099,  
DEPARTMENTS OF VETERANS  
AFFAIRS AND HOUSING AND  
URBAN DEVELOPMENT, AND  
INDEPENDENT AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1996

SPEECH OF

HON. CORRINE BROWN

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, November 29, 1995*

Ms. BROWN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the conference report on the VA-HUD appropriations bill. President Clinton has announced his intention to veto this bill because it funds veterans programs at \$900 million less than what he requested in his budget.

Right now, nearly 2 million veterans live in Florida, nearly 60,000 in my district alone. More veterans live in Florida than in any other State except one. And 100 veterans move to Florida every day. These men and women are growing older and need medical care.

Mr. Speaker, this bill is a slap in the face to Florida's veterans. The President requested \$154 million for the Brevard County Hospital which would serve Florida's veterans in and around my district. But the Republicans in Congress took away that money. That hospital so desperately needed by veterans will not be built.

Where do sick veterans in Florida go for hospital care? For the last few years, hundreds of Florida veterans who have developed psychological problems are shipped out of State. That is right. They get shipped off to Mississippi and Alabama for their care. Two beautiful States, indeed, but far away from their loved ones in Florida. I think this is wrong. To me, there is nothing more compelling than the need to care for veterans who suffer the effects of fighting our wars. That is why Florida needs the Brevard County Hospital.

According to the Department of Veterans Affairs, with this bill, almost all renovation and construction of veteran's health facilities will terminate. A funding freeze would lead to a sharp reduction in the number of employees who counsel veterans and decide claims for benefits. The VA's award-winning medical and prosthetic research program would be cut in every year under the freeze.

Mr. Speaker, balancing the budget is a top priority. And I am committed to doing just that. The President is also committed to a balanced budget. But in balancing the budget, a shared sacrifice is necessary. And I share the President's view that we must not balance the budget on the backs of our Nation's most fragile citizens—seniors, veterans, poor women, children, and the disabled.

Our Nation's veterans earned their benefits through service and sacrifice. It should be America's highest priority to honor our commitment with our veterans. I believe it is wrong to abandon our veterans who have gone in harm's way to serve our country. We need to take care of our U.S. servicemen and women—when they are fighting our wars, and when, as veterans, they need health care. I urge my colleagues to vote against this bill.

AMOS F. LONGORIA POST OFFICE  
BUILDING

HON. FRANK TEJEDA

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 30, 1995*

Mr. TEJEDA. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to announce to the House that I have introduced legislation today to designate the United States Post Office building located at 7980 FM 327 in Elmendorf, TX as the "Amos F. Longoria Post Office Building."

During the August district work period, the citizens of Elmendorf presented me with a petition requesting that their new postal building, opening in December 1995, be named in honor of Pvt. Amos F. Longoria.

Amos Longoria was born in Elmendorf, TX on September 12, 1924. He was the son of humble parents, Bonaficio and Juanita F. Longoria. He had four sisters and two brothers: Pauline Longoria, Marie Longoria Welch, George Longoria, William Longoria, Tommie Longoria Lynch, and Bonnie Longoria de Leon.

Amos F. Longoria also had many close friends who grew up with him and shared love and caring during his short life. Amos is remembered as a happy person. He had many friends, and was kind and considerate to all. He enjoyed hunting, fishing, and many other sporting activities. He enjoyed music, played the guitar and sang. He is said to have had a good sense of humor, liked to laugh and make others laugh.

During his last year of school at Elmendorf, Amos F. Longoria was drafted into the U.S. Army in April of 1943. World War II was raging. Amos, though only 18 years old, was excited to report for basic training at Fort Sam Houston in San Antonio, TX. He was then sent to Camp Wheeler in Georgia.

Amos F. Longoria volunteered to serve overseas in the European theater. He had hopes of being near his older brother, George, who was serving in the 36th Infantry Division.

Amos F. Longoria was assigned to the 30th Infantry, 3d Division, and soon saw combat in the Italian campaign. Military history records that some of the hardest and most hazardous fighting in World War II was in the Italian campaign. On a more personal note, my father, Frank M. Tejeda, Sr. and his close friend George Longoria, honorably served our country in the Italian campaign and were both seriously wounded in Italy in November of 1943.

Less than 6 months after joining the military, Amos was lightly wounded in combat, but returned to duty shortly thereafter. A few days later, only 2 months into his 19th year of life, on November 13, 1943, Amos was mortally wounded at the famous Crossing of the Rapido River in Italy. Amos F. Longoria died in an army hospital in Italy on November 19, 1943.

A Biblical verse, John 15: 9–13, states, "My commandment is this: Love one another, just as I love you. The greatest love a person can have for his friends is to give his life for them."

Private Amos F. Longoria is among the many persons who have shown their greatest love for country and friends. He is part of that great tradition of service to country, even to the point of giving up one's life for our country.

I could not think of a more appropriate honor for the town of Elmendorf and for the Longoria family than the designation of the United States Post Office at 7980 FM 327 in Elmendorf, TX as the "Amos F. Longoria Post Office Building." This designation will commemorate the service and sacrifice of Pvt. Amos F. Longoria and will further serve to remind all that the price of freedom can never be taken for granted.

I would like to urge my colleagues to support the noble effort of Elmendorf's citizens to honor one of its native sons. I commend the citizens of Elmendorf for their thoughtfulness on this project, and I look forward to visiting the Amos F. Longoria Post Office many times in the future.

#### CONNECTICUT HOSPICE HONORED ON 21ST ANNIVERSARY

HON. ROSA L. DeLAURO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1995

Ms. DeLAURO. Mr. Speaker, this Saturday, December 2, the Connecticut Hospice will celebrate its 21st anniversary with a holiday celebration, "Lumieres de Noel." It is with great pleasure that I rise today to salute this wonderful organization, and to thank all of its supporters for brightening the lives of terminally ill patients and their families.

Twenty-one years ago, the Connecticut Hospice pioneered a new approach for treating terminally ill patients by addressing their emotional and spiritual needs in addition to their physical ones. The individuals who began the Connecticut Hospice understood the need for patients to be cared for in a familiar, comforting environment, surrounded by their loved ones. Their work helped to transform how our society handles terminal illness and brought dignity and comfort to those in the last stages of life.

Under the leadership of the Connecticut Hospice, the hospice movement has brought the science of comfort and the art of caring to

a new level, providing release from pain to ensure quality of life. Families are both recipients and partners in high-touch care, while hospice staff are the givers of high-technology care. Physicians, nurses, social workers, pastors, pharmacists, dieticians, and artists combine their competence with compassion to make life full and meaningful.

The John D. Thompson Hospice Institute for Education, Training, and Research, an affiliate of the Connecticut Hospice, Inc., enables hospice expertise and information to be shared with health care institutions throughout the world. Through the institute, medical students and other health care personnel are educated in all aspects of hospice care. The institute also provides the means to conduct in-depth research, allowing the Connecticut Hospice to benefit from the latest in health care technology and to be able to upgrade constantly the standards of patient care.

As the JDT Institute and the Connecticut Hospice carry their 21 years of experience into the 21st century, they are able to reach the Nation and the world. This year, "hospice.com" was established as a home page on the World Wide Web. Requests for information have been received from all over the United States, from Japan, Malaysia, and countries in Africa, widening the circle of the hospice community.

I congratulate the Connecticut Hospice for inspiring a nation, for what it has done for America, and for what it can do for the world. I urge all communities around the Nation to support hospice care in every way possible.

#### PERSONAL EXPLANATION

HON. JOSÉ E. SERRANO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1995

Mr. SERRANO. Mr. Speaker, it has been brought to my attention that I am not recorded as having voted on rollcall No. 762, a motion to instruct House conferees on the conference report on H.R. 2099, the VA–HUD–independent agencies appropriations bill for fiscal year 1996.

Moments before, I voted to order the previous question. I should have been recorded as voting "yes" on the motion to instruct, because I am opposed to the 17 riders restricting EPA's regulatory power and ability to enforce numerous air and water pollution regulations.

#### ROMANIAN NATIONAL DAY

HON. FLOYD SPENCE

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1995

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take a few moments to talk about Romania on the occasion of its National Day on December 1.

As it celebrates its fifth National Day after its defeat of communism, Romania remains committed to joining the West as a modern democratic state.

Romania demonstrated its early desire to join the West by being the first Central European nation to join the Partnership for Peace

[PFP], officially joining the program on January 26, 1994. Since then, Romania has had far more bilateral military exchanges with the United States than any other PFP nation. Likewise, the United States commitment to joint training with Romania's Armed Forces has grown in size and complexity. Romanian troops have participated in NATO exercises in Europe and in the United States, most recently in Fort Polk, LA.

Since emerging from a Communist dictatorship in 1990, Romania has demonstrated in significant ways its commitment to becoming a strong ally of the United States. The Romania–United States military-to-military cooperation program is one of the strongest in central Europe.

In 1990, Romania chaired the United Nations Security Council during the debate over the invasion of Kuwait. In that capacity, Romania helped lead efforts to authorize military intervention and impose economic sanctions against Iraq—despite costing its developing economy billions of dollars. Furthermore, Romania sent a military medical unit to Kuwait as a part of Operation Desert Storm and a medical battalion to Somalia in concert with the United States-led peacekeeping mission there. More recently, Romania has been at the forefront of support to peacekeeping efforts in Bosnia by offering logistical support to NATO forces.

Mr. Speaker, the fall of the Iron Curtain has brought great promise to the people of Central and Eastern Europe while posing great challenges to the governments of these once Communist countries. On the occasion of its National Day, I congratulate Romania for its accomplishments over the short 5 years since its democratization began and I ask my colleagues to join me in wishing Romania well as it continues to meet its political, military, and economic challenges.

#### IN HONOR OF LAMBDA THETA PHI, AN OUTSTANDING ORGANIZATION

HON. ROBERT MENENDEZ

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1995

Mr. MENENDEZ. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize Lambda Theta Phi, service social fraternity emphasizing Latin unity and the celebration of Latin culture. It will be celebrating its 20th anniversary at a dinner on December 2.

In 1975 at Kean College of New Jersey, 10 students founded the first and only nationally recognized Latino Greek letter fraternity, Lambda Theta Phi. Gus Garcia, a founding member, served as the fraternity's first president. As the first national Latin fraternity, it was created in the image of great Latin thinkers, such as Jose Marti, Simon Bolivar, and El Cid.

In addition to active chapters in New Jersey, Pennsylvania Connecticut, and Florida, the fraternity has chapters at Saint Peter's College and Stevens Institute of Technology in my district.

The fraternity's goals are to promote scholarship, Latin unity, respect for all cultures and brotherhood. Although the fraternity is only 20 years old, it represents 500 years of culture. I am privileged to be an honorary member of the fraternity. Although the fraternity was created at a time when there was disunity among

the Latin community, the concept of celebrating Latin culture became a unifying factor for members who had diverse interests. The fraternity believes "En La Union Esta La Fuerza" (In Unity There is Strength). Membership is open to all college males who wish to work together to reach the organization's goals.

The diverse membership has a social conscience and a commitment to the community. By working in neighborhoods, the fraternity hopes not only to provide service, but also to enhance the image of Latin culture and provide positive role models for the Latin community. Brothers have gone on to become accountants, attorneys, engineers, entrepreneurs, politicians, recording artists, scientists and leaders in various areas.

A few of the fraternity's activities include voter registration programs, citizenship drives, disaster relief, anti-drug rallies, and Hispanic college days, which introduce thousands of high school students to college.

Please join me today in honoring Lambda Theta Phi fraternity on its 20th anniversary as it continues to provide service to the community and guarantees the strongest in brotherhood while upholding the best in Latin culture.

#### CONFERENCE REPORT ON S. 440, NATIONAL HIGHWAY SYSTEM DESIGNATION ACT OF 1995

SPEECH OF

HON. THOMAS J. BLILEY, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, November 18, 1995*

Mr. BLILEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this legislation, and specifically the provision within this legislation addressing the Environmental Protection Agency's [EPA] implementation of the enhanced vehicle inspection and maintenance program [I&M] under sections 182, 184, and 187 of the Clean Air Act.

The 1990 Clean Air Act amendments required certain ozone and carbon monoxide nonattainment areas—as well as certain areas within ozone transport regions—to adopt enhanced vehicle inspection and maintenance programs. The act was intended to afford States maximum flexibility in designing their I&M programs. However, in several hearings conducted by the Commerce Committee's Oversight Subcommittee it has become apparent that EPA has taken the enhanced I&M program and attempted to force States into a one-size-fits-all approach. That approach, a centralized or test-only program that favors testing with IM240 equipment, has been resisted, and in some cases rejected, by States and by our constituents as too costly and too inconvenient. In addition, many States and outside experts question whether EPA's centralized approach is indeed more effective than a decentralized approach.

The amendments to the Clean Air Act contained in this bill are designed to require EPA to allow for more flexibility in the implementation of the enhanced I&M program. First, the provision prevents EPA from automatically assuming that decentralized or test-and-repair programs are approximately 50 percent less effective than centralized or test-only programs. Second, it would allow States an 18-month period in which States could configure their own I&M program, experimenting with

various network and equipment types. Because it will be difficult to determine a priori exact emissions reductions achieved by such a program, requirements that States propose credits in good faith should be construed loosely. EPA would then be required to base emission reduction credits on the actual data from the I&M program, rather than basing credits on assumptions within a computer model. In developing this credit, the burden should be upon EPA to demonstrate that provisional credits proposed by the States are inappropriate. EPA is then required to adjust credits as appropriate as demonstrated by the program data, which could include actual emission tests results, remote sensing, or other relevant data.

The message of this legislation to EPA regarding the enhanced inspection and maintenance program is clear. Congress is not happy with the present course EPA has taken. This legislation should be viewed as a response to EPA's statements that it will continue to discount decentralized or test-and-repair I&M programs up to 50 percent based on model assumptions. Such statements run counter to the statutory language and intent of this provision which are to allow States, such as Virginia, an opportunity to demonstrate to EPA what credits for decentralized programs should be from actual program data.

#### IN SUPPORT OF H.R. 2525 AND H.R. 2519

SPEECH OF

HON. NANCY PELOSI

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 28, 1995*

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I rise to offer my support for both H.R. 2525, the Charitable Gift Annuity Relief Act, and H.R. 2519, the Philanthropy Protection Act. These bills offer much-needed clarity to our securities and antitrust laws and will encourage continued charitable giving by our Nation's non-profit organizations.

Charitable gift annuities and charitable trusts make it possible for donors to make contributions while still retaining some income from the gift. This legislation encourages this flexible arrangement and should be supported.

Mr. Speaker, the people of the United States are the most generous in the world. In 1995 alone, contributions to charity totaled \$120 billion. These bills will ensure that this level of generosity continues. Vote "Yes" on H.R. 2519 and H.R. 2525.

#### FRAUD IN LOBBYING

HON. SANDER M. LEVIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 30, 1995*

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join Mr. DINGELL today as an original cosponsor of legislation to make it a Federal crime to misappropriate a person's name in connection with lobbying Congress. I want to commend Mr. DINGELL for bringing this important legislation to the floor.

During the recent debate on the telecommunications bill, Members of Congress

were deluged by thousands of telegrams in opposition to the measure.

It turns out that most of the telegrams were sent without the knowledge or consent of our constituents. Their names and addresses were wrongfully expropriated by opponents of the telecommunications bill as part of a massive lobbying scam.

Before the extent of this fraud was uncovered, my office responded to 650 telegrams. I subsequently wrote these constituents a second letter, informing them that their names may have been used without their knowledge.

I received dozens of replies from constituents who were outraged that a lobbying group would use their names without permission. I would like to read just one of them to you:

SEPTEMBER 29, 1995.

Hon. SANDER LEVIN,  
Rayburn House Office Building,  
Washington, DC.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN LEVIN: I found the attached letter at my father's home while sorting through his things following his recent death. He had written my name on the envelope, so I assume he wanted me to handle this matter for him.

The letter you sent was not addressed to my father, but to my brother. My brother died 13 years ago. I don't know where the list firm would have gotten his name. I personally had his name withdrawn from the voters rolls many years ago to avoid the somewhat painful mail being delivered to my parent's home.

I believe I can guarantee you that [my brother] did not authorize a telegram to be sent to you in support or opposition to any legislation.

Good luck in your investigation.

Sincerely,

THOMAS H. SHIELDS.

Mr. Speaker, this telegram lobbying campaign was a blatant attempt to mislead the House of Representatives. Congress should take whatever steps are necessary to prevent this abuse from happening ever again.

That's why we're here today. This legislation makes this type of misrepresentation a Federal offense punishable by up to 1 year in prison, fines, or both.

Another one of my constituents hit the nail on the head. Referring to lobbying firms such as the one that orchestrated the telegram scam on the telecommunications bill, she wrote, "I hope ya get the stinkers." This legislation is a good start.

#### HAYMARKET HOUSE'S CSAT GRANT

HON. CARLISS COLLINS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, Nov. 30, 1995*

Mrs. COLLINS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I would like to announce that Haymarket House in my congressional district has recently been selected to receive a grant to provide residential substance abuse treatment to more than 20 women and their children by the Center for Substance Abuse Treatment [CSAT] Residential Women and Children [RWC] grant program.

Haymarket House currently provides comprehensive and integrated treatment services to approximately 13,000 clients each year, making it the largest drug abuse treatment

center in the State of Illinois. With the CSAT demonstration grant, Haymarket intends to provide 22 chemically dependent women and up to 31 drug-exposed children with a continuum of care.

The goals of Haymarket House's recovery program are to reduce the recidivism rate among chemically dependent women and to enhance the maternal-child attachment and promote independent living.

One of the greatest barriers that high-risk women currently face when seeking substance abuse treatment is lack of child care. CSAT's grant will enable Haymarket House to address this problem by establishing a model recovery home providing drug abuse prevention and treatment, health services, child care, parent training, vocational education, and job placement. This integration helps treatment centers like Haymarket improve their prevention and treatment services so that drug addictions can be treated more quickly.

I commend Haymarket House for their innovative approach to substance abuse and encourage my colleagues to visit this facility in my congressional district to see for yourselves what a remarkably successful drug treatment program Haymarket House has established.

#### REMEMBER THE NIXON DOCTRINE

HON. Y. TIM HUTCHINSON

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 30, 1995

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, considering the high level of interest in the President's plan to deploy 20,000 American servicemen and servicewomen to Bosnia, I thought my colleagues might find the accompanying article of special interest.

It should be noted that Jim Webb, a former counsel on the Veterans' Affairs Committee, was a highly decorated marine in Vietnam, as Assistant Secretary of Defense, as well as Secretary of the Navy.

[From the New York Times, Nov. 28, 1995]

#### REMEMBER THE NIXON DOCTRINE

(By James Webb)

ARLINGTON, VA.—The Clinton Administration's insistence on putting 20,000 American troops into Bosnia should be seized on by national leaders, particularly those running for President, to force a long-overdue debate on the worldwide obligations of our military.

While the Balkan factions may be immersed in their struggle, and Europeans may feel threatened by it, for Americans it represents only one of many conflicts, real and potential, whose seriousness must be weighed, often against one another, before allowing a commitment of lives, resources and national energy.

Today, despite a few half-hearted attempts such as Gen. Colin Powell's "superior force doctrine," no clear set of principles exists as a touchstone for debate on these tradeoffs. Nor have any leaders of either party offered terms which provide an understandable global logic as to when our military should be committed to action. In short, we still lack a national security strategy that fits the postcold war era.

More than ever before, the United States has become the nation of choice when crises occur, large and small. At the same time, the size and location of our military forces are in flux. It is important to make our interests known to our citizens, our allies and even

our potential adversaries, not just in Bosnia but around the world, so that commitments can be measured by something other than the pressures of interest groups and manipulation by the press. Furthermore, with alliances increasingly justified by power relationships similar to those that dominated before World War I, our military must be assured that the stakes of its missions are worth dying for.

Failing to provide these assurances is to continue the unremitting case-by-case debates, hampering our foreign policy on the one hand and on the other treating our military forces in some cases as mere bargaining chips. As the past few years demonstrate, this also causes us to fritter away our national resolve while arguing about military backwaters like Somalia and Haiti.

Given the President's proposal and the failure to this point of defining American stakes in Bosnia as immediate or nation-threatening, the coming weeks will offer a new round of such debates. The President appears tempted to follow the constitutionally questionable (albeit effective) approach used by the Bush Administration in the Persian Gulf war: putting troops in an area where no American forces have been threatened and no treaties demand their presence, then gaining international agreement before placing the issue before Congress.

Mr. Clinton said their mission would be "to supervise the separation of forces and to give them confidence that each side will live up to their agreements." This rationale reminds one of the ill-fated mission of the international force sent to Beirut in 1983. He has characterized the Bosnian mission as diplomatic in purpose, but promised, in his speech last night, to "fight fire with fire and then some" if American troops are threatened. This is a formula for confusion once a combat unit sent on a distinctly noncombat mission comes under repeated attack.

We are told that other NATO countries will decline to send their own military forces to Bosnia unless the United States assumes a dominant role, which includes sizable combat support and naval forces backing it up. This calls to mind the decades of over-reliance by NATO members on American resources, and President Eisenhower's warning in October 1963 that the size and permanence of our military presence in Europe would "continue to discourage the development of the necessary military strength Western European countries should provide for themselves."

The Administration speaks of a "reasonable time for withdrawal," which if too short might tempt the parties to wait out the so-called peacekeepers and if too long might tempt certain elements to drive them out with attacks causing high casualties.

Sorting out the Administration's answers to such hesitations will take a great deal of time, attention and emotion. And doing so in the absence of a clearly stated global policy will encourage other nations, particularly the new power centers in Asia, to view the United States as becoming less committed to addressing their own security concerns. Many of these concerns are far more serious to long-term international stability and American interests. These include the continued threat of war on the Korean peninsula, the importance of the United States as a powerbroker where historical Chinese, Japanese and Russian interests collide, and the need for military security to accompany trade and diplomacy in a dramatically changing region.

Asian cynicism gained further grist in the wake of the Administration's recent snubs of Japan: the President's cancellation of his summit meeting because of the budget crisis, and Secretary of State Warren Christopher's

early return from a Japanese visit to watch over the Bosnian peace talks.

Asian leaders are becoming uneasy over an economically and militarily resurgent China that in recent years has become increasingly more aggressive. A perception that the United States is not paying attention to or is not worried about such long-term threats could in itself cause a major realignment in Asia. One cannot exclude even Japan, whose strong bilateral relationship with the United States has been severely tested of late, from this possibility.

Those who aspire to the Presidency in 1996 should use the coming debate to articulate a world view that would demonstrate to the world, as well as to Americans, an understanding of the uses and limitations—in a sense the human budgeting of our military assets.

Richard Nixon was the last President to clearly define how and when the United States would commit forces overseas. In 1969, he declared that our military policy should follow three basic tenets:

Honor all treaty commitments in responding to those who invade the lands of our allies.

Provide a nuclear umbrella to the world against the threats of other nuclear powers.

Finally, provide weapons and technical assistance to other countries where warranted, but do not commit American forces to local conflicts.

These tenets, with some modification, are still the best foundation of our world leadership. They remove the United States from local conflicts and civil wars. The use of the American military to fulfill treaty obligations requires ratification by Congress, providing a hedge against the kind of Presidential discretion that might send forces into conflicts not in the national interest. Yet they provide clear authority for immediate action required to carry out policies that have been agreed upon by the government as a whole.

Given the changes in the world, an additional tenet would also be desirable: The United States should respond vigorously against cases of nuclear proliferation and state-sponsored terrorism.

These tenets would prevent the use of United States forces on commitments more appropriate to lesser powers while preserving our unique capabilities. Only the United States among the world's democracies can field large-scale maneuver forces, replete with strategic airlift, carrier battle groups and amphibious power projection.

Our military has no equal in countering conventional attacks on extremely short notice wherever the national interest dictates. Our bases in Japan give American forces the ability to react almost anywhere in the Pacific and Indian Oceans, just as the continued presence in Europe allows American units to react in Europe and the Middle East.

In proper form, this capability provides reassurance to potentially threatened nations everywhere. But despite the ease with which the American military seemingly operates on a daily basis, its assets are limited, as is the national willingness to put them at risk.

As the world moves toward new power centers and different security needs, it is more vital than ever that we state clearly the conditions under which American forces will be sent into harm's way. And we should be ever more chary of commitments, like the looming one in Bosnia, where combat units invite attack but are by the very nature of their mission not supposed to fight.

TRIBUTE TO THE LATE JAMES T.  
MARTIN

HON. KWEISI MFUME

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 30, 1995*

Mr. MFUME. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to salute one of our Capitol Police Officers, a decorated soldier and a constituent of mine.

James T. Martin of Catonsville died of cancer on November 27, 1995. He was born in Newberry, SC; the son of Ida L. Martin and the late Frank Martin. Mr. Martin left Newberry and enlisted in the U.S. Air Force in 1948 and retired as a master sergeant in 1969. While serving during the Korean war, Mr. Martin was decorated with the Soldiers Medal for Valor, the Korean Service Medal, the Good Conduct Medal and the United Nations Medal.

Upon his retirement from the U.S. Air Force, Mr. Martin joined the U.S. Capitol Police Force, a branch of the House of Representatives and completed his second career serving as a sergeant and retired after 22 years.

Mr. Martin was an active member of St. Josephs Monastery Paris and was engaged in a number of organizations, including the Glad Men of Song, the VFW and the American Legion.

Mr. Martin is survived by his wife Regina T. Martin, four daughters, Theresa, Bridghe, Eileen, and Patricia, one brother and three sisters. He is also survived by 3 granddaughters and 11 grandsons.

Because of his service and dedication to our country, to the House of Representatives and to his family, I stand today to pay tribute to James T. Martin.

TRIBUTE TO THE TRADE UNION  
LEADERSHIP COUNCIL

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 30, 1995*

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to the Trade Union Leadership Council [TULC] which was organized nearly 40 years ago by a small but determined group of African-American trade unionists in Detroit. These men and women banded together to fight the blatant racism that existed in unions as well as in management.

From its modest beginnings in 1957, TULC developed into a powerful political and social force that was nationally recognized and praised. It attacked the racist policies in the unions and it literally changed the complexion of union leadership; it forced companies to desegregate their work forces; it operated skilled trades apprenticeship programs aimed primarily at young blacks who had been excluded from such programs, and it became a force to be reckoned with in the field of politics.

In its heyday in the 1960's and 1970's, TULC had some 10,000 members. The organization was applauded for its emphasis on self help and self development. It often was harshly criticized by union and management

chiefs for its insistence on job equality, but it withstood the criticism and forced open the doors of opportunity.

Those gains did not come easily. In the decades of the forties, fifties, and sixties, discrimination was rampant across the Nation. As late as the mid-1940's, more than a dozen unions still had white-only policies. Through the 1950's and until the 1960's, the powerful executive board of the United Auto Workers was lily white.

It was in this atmosphere that TULC was forged. Its 19 founding members included the late labor activists Horace Sheffield and Robert (Buddy) Battle III, both of whom rose to key positions in the UAW. Also among that group was a local 600 activist and democratic State Central Committee member named Elizabeth Jackson who would later become one of the most powerful women in the UAW. Hubert Holley, head of Detroit's bus drivers and John Brown, the current TULC president, were founding members as was my late father, John Conyers, Sr. I was one of the lawyers who drafted TULC's articles of incorporation.

Initially, TULC planned to focus on unions and to restrict its membership to union members. But, as Robert Battle explained years ago in an interview:

\* \* \* we found that we could not separate the problems of the unions from the community because basically the union people are the community when they are at home. So we lifted the bar then and made it a community organization. We figured that the problem of job discrimination and discrimination within the unions were problems that should be dealt with within the community as well as within labor. We dropped the bar and said that all you had to believe in was the struggle, the fight of all mankind.

The TULC members knew the problems in the unions, and they tackled them head on. The organization's leaders repeatedly and publicly challenged the AFL-CIO to eliminate segregation from the locals and to remove the constitutional color bars that were part of the AFL-CIO philosophy. In its monthly publication entitled "The Vanguard," the TULC wrote an open letter in 1962 to AFL-CIO president George Meany. The letter warned Meany that African-American trade unionists would no longer tolerate the discriminatory practices of the AFL-CIO. "Discrimination, no matter how it is packaged or who does the wrapping, remains discrimination" the letter said. "Negroes insist on an end to job discrimination now. Not when Mr. Meany and his righteous followers get around to it, not when the so-called grievance 'machinery' is perfected, not when the NAACP (or any such organization) fills staff positions with people strictly suitable to AFL-CIO tastes—but now."

At the same time TULC was relentlessly pushing the AFL-CIO to change, the group was running classes to teach young people how to apply for and prepare for a job. Over the years, TULC continued on that two-tiered track—pushing unions, management, and government to increase opportunities and teaching people how to avail themselves of those opportunities.

The AFL-CIO wasn't TULC's only target. For years, TULC members were furious because the United Auto Workers' all powerful executive board was also all white. In 1959, Sheffield, Battle, and union activist Willoughby

Abner set the stage for change when they forced the issue at the UAW's 17th Constitutional Convention in Atlanta. Sheffield told the gathering that the union leadership had promised some 16 years earlier to put an African-American on the executive board. He said blacks were tired of waiting.

In 1962, the color barrier was broken with the election of Nelson "Jack" Edwards, a region 1A staff representative, to the executive board. Although many thought Sheffield should have had that post, his outspoken criticism of the UAW leadership kept him from it.

TULC remained busy on the social and political fronts. In 1960, TULC rallied more than 1,400 people to form the National Negro American Labor Council. The late A. Philip Randolph was the first president. Around the same time, TULC was flexing its political muscle. TULC was instrumental in the election of African-Americans to government office and it successfully campaigned for the ouster of Louis Miriani, Detroit's incumbent mayor who was openly hostile to blacks.

TULC also campaigned vigorously to increase the minimum wage to a level where people earning it could afford to buy the products they produced. The organization also traveled the Midwest explaining to working people the dangers of "right to work" legislation.

On the job front, TULC forced many companies, including United Parcel and Wolpin Distributors, to hire their first black drivers. Also during the 1960's, TULC and the Building Trades Council jointly initiated an apprenticeship training program that became a national model for such efforts. By the mid-1970's, the program had recruited thousands of minority youths, and the majority of them were employed in the Detroit area.

Recognizing the need for educational enrichment programs for deprived youth, TULC established the Educational Foundation of all races. The foundation offered classes ranging from remedial reading to typing to job-seeking skills.

TULC also offered enrichment classes for preschoolers and helped 10 Detroit high schools establish sections on African-Americans in their school libraries.

John Brown, current TULC president, said that the founding members took a risk in forming TULC. "Quite a few people resented us for doing this," Brown said. The criticism did not deter the group from attacking gross discrimination wherever they found it.

Today, only four of the original members are still alive, Elizabeth Jackson, John Brown, former State Representative Daisy Elliott, and retired city of Detroit employee Mickey Welch. Membership stands at over 2,500. TULC works with the Detroit Board of Education, and it makes regular contributions to local charities. It also sponsors weekly programs for senior citizens, and it continues to sponsor cultural enrichment programs for local youths.

The bold efforts of the Trade Union Leadership Council have enabled thousands of African-American men and women to progress through the ranks of both unions and management.

That small group of people who gathered nearly 40 years ago today to demand equality deserve our praise and our respect. Their noble efforts must not be forgotten.

CONFERENCE REPORT ON S. 440,  
NATIONAL HIGHWAY SYSTEM  
DESIGNATION ACT OF 1995

SPEECH OF

HON. JOE BARTON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, November 18, 1995*

Mr. BARTON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this legislation. With its passage begins the resolution of years of questionable implementation of the inspection and maintenance [I&M] program by EPA, required by sections 182, 184, and 187 of the Clean Air Act. The controversy began with the finalization of the 1992 rule. Within that rule was an assumption that decentralized or test-and-repair I&M programs were approximately 50 percent less effective than centralized or test-only programs. In addition, the final rule removed a provision within the proposed rule which would have given States a 2-year period to demonstrate the effectiveness of enhanced decentralized programs. Three years later, EPA has yet to convince States that such a discount is appropriate, and the I&M issue is as yet unresolved. This legislation begins to resolve this dispute by restoring a demonstration period in which States will be permitted to demonstrate appropriate credits.

Earlier this year, the Oversight and Investigation Subcommittee of the House Commerce Committee, which I chair, held two hearings on the inspection and maintenance issue. Those hearings called into question the basis for the so called 50-percent discount. At the time of the hearing, EPA stated that it relied on 15 years of vehicle audit and tampering data to justify this discount. However, evidence produced by the California I/M Review Committee and Dr. Doug Lawson of Desert Research Institute called into question whether this data supported the discount.

At the hearing, and in follow-up questions, however, EPA stated that the basis for the discount was not audit and tampering data, but from two indepth studies conducted in California. These indepth studies of California's decentralized program indicated that reductions were 20 percent for hydrocarbons [HC], 15 percent for carbon monoxide [CO], and 7 percent for nitrogen oxides [Nox], about half what they were expected to be, according to EPA—hence the 50-percent discount. But EPA estimates credits for a decentralized program are appropriate 6.5-percent reductions in HC, 12.6 for CO, and 1.5 percent for Nox, much less than the reductions found in California.

Outside studies of "real world" data also called into question EPA's system of credits. Two engineering professors from the University of Minnesota found that a centralized I&M program recently adopted in the Minneapolis/

St. Paul region was achieving only a 1-percent reduction in CO. EPA had originally predicted the program would reduce CO emissions by 30 percent. They later revised that estimate to 9-percent reductions. If centralized testing is so effective, why would the centralized program be expected to achieve only a 9-percent reduction in CO, when decentralized programs in general are predicted to achieve a 12.6 percent reduction in CO. Finally, "real world" evidence taken from hundreds of thousands of remote sensing readings further indicate that whether a program is centralized or decentralized was relatively unimportant to the effectiveness of the program.

The provision in this bill therefore, asks EPA to go back to the drawing board. By restoring flexibility to the States, it is hoped that States will experiment with various I&M configurations, such as remote sensing. EPA should use data from State programs so measure the performance of centralized verses decentralized programs, and both types should be examined relative to the performance standard. In particular, I am hopeful that States and EPA will use this opportunity to refocus I&M on that small minority of vehicles that cause most of the pollution. Data indicates that as few as 10 percent of the vehicles cause over 50 percent of the pollution. Therefore, techniques that screen out gross polluters such as remote sensing, should be seriously considered.